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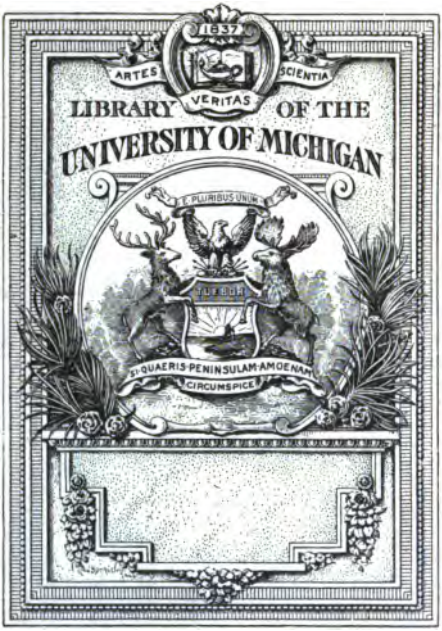

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Prof. J. B. Angell.

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With deep respect to
Hon. James B. Angell
From
Louis Rosenberg
The Author

Detroit Dec. 12 - 02.
71 Home Br

MAZZINI

Giuseppe Mazzini

Mazzini: "The Prophet of the Religion of Humanity"

With a Biographical Sketch;
Also Mazzini's Oration "To the Young Men of Italy"

By LOUIS J. ROSENBERG
Author of "Sociological Studies," etc.

CHICAGO
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1908

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0108S.

To

JANE ADDAMS,

(of Hull House)

this little volume is dedicated

by the author.

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PREFACE

The present work first appeared in the shape of an essay, in "Unity" of September, 1900. Encouraged by the favor with which it was received, I herewith present it, somewhat amplified, in a more permanent form.

To aid the reader to a fuller appreciation of Mazzini's gospel, I have inserted Mazzini's speech: "To the Young Men of Italy," and have added a short sketch of his life.

PREFACE

Should the perusal of the following pages create but the slightest desire for a more extensive study of the work of the great Italian, my labors shall be liberally compensated.

LOUIS J. ROSENBERG.

Detroit, May 18, 1903.

MAZZINI'S LIFE

MAZZINI'S LIFE

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Joseph Mazzini was born on the 22d of June, 1805, in the City of Genoa. Little Joseph was a fragile but a marvelously precocious child. His first teacher—who was an old Priest—hardly taught him anything else than Latin; yet he acquired a few languages and mastered several important subjects, at a very early age. At thirteen, Mazzini entered the University. He first studied

medicine, then law. But the natural bent of his mind was neither towards medicine nor jurisprudence, but rather towards literature. He was elected as a member of a literary society at the early age of fourteen. He always prepared his law lessons, however, and was well liked by professors and students for his extraordinary diligence and prodigious ability.

Having spent five years at the University, Mazzini was admitted to the bar. His parents were now happy, anticipating for him a brilliant

legal career. Joseph, however, was sorrowful and gloomy, well knowing that he must disappoint his parents in their sanguine hopes; for he had already determined to devote his life to the reintegration of his country.

About the time of the North Italian Revolution, in 1826, Mazzini joined the Carbonairé. To his great misfortune he was affiliated there by a spy, who afterwards betrayed him. He was arrested, tried and imprisoned. After having served six months in jail, he was released; but his liberty to remain in Italy was

under so many restrictions, that he wisely left his fatherland and went to Marseilles, France. There, Mazzini with a few more exiles from Modena, Parma and the Romagna, organized the secret society: "La Giovine Italia," or "Young Italy." Its programme he had already worked out during his stay in jail; its aim was, the union of Italy and the establishment of a Republic. The method by which "Young Italy" was to strive towards the realization of its Republican programme, was Education. (See his essays: "Royalty

and Republicanism in Italy" and "On the Duties of Man.")

Groups of this new party had been formed in almost all parts of Italy, and within one year "Young Italy" was the most popular organization of Mazzini's native land. "From student to student, from youth to youth, this confraternity extended itself with unexpected rapidity." Their call for union and liberty rang through Italy like "an autumn storm through the forest, and men answered them like clustering leaves."

Alarmed by the rapid growth of

this revolutionary society, the Italian rulers asked the French government to expel Mazzini and his companions from France; whereupon the French police sought him everywhere, but were unable to find him. After a two-year play of "hide and seek" Mazzini left France, and in 1832 arrived in Switzerland. There, the great patriot organized the society "Young Europe." The aim of "Young Europe" was similar to that of "Young Italy," namely, to overthrow the then existing European monarchies and establish re-

publics. The rulers of Europe fearing the revolutionary power of "Young Europe," asked the Swiss government to have Mazzini ordered out, and in 1836—the most memorable year of his life, the year when the "tempest of doubt" assailed him—Mazzini was compelled to leave Switzerland. He went to England, where he remained till 1848.

About that year waves of revolution swept over all parts of Italy—revolutions which Mazzini has stimulated. This called him back to his native land. The services that he

rendered to his country during that year were multifarious. At one time he acted as a common soldier, at another time as a member of the temporary government of Tuscany, and later on as the executive of the short-lived Roman Republic. He worked night and day, incessantly and ardently; but the opposing circumstances and combinations were insurmountable. The revolutions finished tragically, and in 1849 Mazzini returned to England.

The uprisings in Genoa and Naples, in 1857, took him again to his

native land. Again a death warrant was issued against him, again the revolutions failed, and again he went to London. Here he remained till 1870. In that year Sicily was preparing itself for a revolution, and Mazzini hastened to aid her. He was arrested on the way and imprisoned; but the Italian government which now formed one united monarchy, feared to keep so popular a patriot in jail, so that after serving a term of about two months, they released him.

Mazzini once more went to Lon-

don, but having been invited to edit an Italian Republican paper, he soon returned again to his native land. After another year of unwearied literary labor in the "Roma del Popola," Mazzini determined to go to England for recreation; but the stormy voyage of his life was destined to come to an end. On his way "he was seized with an acute pleurisy, of which he died at Pisa, on the 10th of March, 1872." When Garibaldi, who was at that time at Caprea, learned of Mazzini's death, he cabled: "Let the colors of the

thousand float over the bier of the Grand Italian." (See Autobiography of Garibaldi by Werner.) The body of the illustrious Patriot was borne across the Appenines to Genoa in a "triumphal procession, and eighty thousand of his countrymen followed his cold remains."

The noblest men of his time paid him high tribute. All the lovers of liberty feel eternally grateful to him. He was the most honest politician of Europe, the first statesman who conceived the idea of uniting Italy, a heroic defender of man's rights—

an ardent lover of humanity. Italy was regenerated by his work, the world was made better by his life.

A PROPHET OF THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY

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I.

Among the contributors to civilization, among the benefactors of humanity, prophets play a cardinal role. They are the keepers of the fire of faith. They encourage us and lend us treasures of hope. They girdle us with moral strength and awaken us whenever our sense of duty slumbers. They are the heaven-

sent orators, the inspirers upon earth, the light-bearers of the ages.

A man who, while serving the world in various ways, has most eminently filled the position of a prophet. is the saintly Italian, Joseph Mazzini. He was a cosmopolitan, a humanitarian. Loving Italy as perhaps no other Italian ever did, he loved above everything humanity, and endeavored to inspire that love in others. In an address that he delivered in commemoration of the Brothers Bandiera and their fellow martyrs, he said: "Love humanity. God has

given you your country as cradle, and humanity as mother; you cannot rightly love your brethren of the cradle, if you love not the common mother."

But our love for humanity must be shown. We must prove it by our acts. Hence arise duties; hence a religion. Thus Mazzini came to the conclusion that "all great questions which agitate the world resolve themselves into a religious question." (See "From Pope to Council," written in London, 1850.) He then set himself to work for the amelioration

of society from a religious standpoint. He defined life, "a mission;" duty, "life's highest law," and religion, "humanity." Adopting the adage: "All men are the sons of God," for his first principle, he endeavored to found a universal church, a church where all men could worship. His theory was that "men were in need of unity," and it was high time to have it. "The world of individuality, the world of the Middle Ages," he says, "is exhausted and consumed. The modern era, the social world, is now in the dawn of

its development. * * * The future is humanity."

Mazzini believed in God as a source of duty and equality of man. But such principles as duty and equality of man he was unable to find in the existing church. He did not find them in Protestantism, still less in Papacy. As to Protestantism, he hoped it would repair its mistakes, but he had no faith in Papacy. "Italian duty," he writes in his essay on the "*Minor Works of Dante*," "could not be the work of the Popes, for they, who had made

common cause with the people so long as the struggle between the priesthood and the empire was undecided, had now abandoned them." He criticised the existing Roman Catholicism, because it united with the kings instead of uniting with the people; because their God seemed to him an abstraction used on holidays and on church affairs only; because he saw it dying, and lastly, because he saw it a farce. It became his earnest desire then to reanimate Europe; to rekindle faith in the heart of man. To do this he did not antagonize the

priests, but invited pope and priests to unite with him. The Roman clergy, however, hurled its anathema upon him. He then became convinced that the old Roman Church was hopelessly corrupt. He found that while the pope says: "Be subservient to my word in all that concerns the things of heaven," the king says: "Be subservient to my sword in that concerns the things of earth." They make use by turns of excommunication and bombardment, of the priest and of the executioner."

(See "From the Pope to the Council.")

The great Italian now commenced his religious work without the clergy. In his essay, entitled "Rome and the French Government," he writes, "We will advance without the church," and then he corrects himself, and says, "Nay, not without the church, but from the church of the past to the church of the future; from the dead to the living church, the church of free men and equals, wherein *he* shall be first who best has served his brothers, and where

the seat of faith needs not to be upheld by force."

Mazzini preached against the dogma of current churchism, which tells us: "What are all earthly interests in comparison with the immortal life of your soul? Think of this. Fix your eyes on heaven. What matters it how you live here below? You are doomed to die, and God will judge you according to the thoughts you have given, not to earth, but to him. Are you unhappy? Bless the God who has sent you sorrows. Terrestrial existence is but a period of

trial, the earth but a land of exile. Despise it and raise yourselves above it. In the midst of sorrows, poverty or slavery you can still turn to God and sanctify yourselves in adoration of Him, in prayer and in faith in a future that will largely recompense you for having despised every worldly thing."

To Mazzini such a doctrine seemed absurd. To him "heaven and earth" were "One" even as the way and the goal is one. "Tell us not," he says, "that the earth is of clay. The earth is of God. God

created it as the medium through which we may ascend to Him. The earth is not a mere sojourn of temptation or of expiation; it is the appointed dwelling-place wherein we are bound to work out our own improvement and development, and advance towards a higher stage of existence. God created us not to contemplate, but to act. * * * Yours is not a religion; it is the sect of men who have forgotten their origin; forgotten the battle which their fathers fought against a corrupt society, and the victories they

gained in transforming the world you despise, O men of contemplation."

Continuing in the same strain, he says: "The first real, earnest religious Faith that shall arise upon the ruins of the old worn-out creeds, will transform the whole of our actual social organization, because every strong and earnest faith tends to apply itself to every branch of human activity; because in every epoch of its existence the earth has ever tended to conform itself to the Heaven in which it then believed; and because

the whole history of Humanity is but the repetition—in form and degree varying according to the diversity of the times—of the world of the Christian prayer: Thy Kingdom come on Earth as it is in Heaven. Let these words—better understood and better applied than in the past—be the utterance of your faith, O my brothers! Repeat them and strive to fulfill them."

In accordance with such views, Mazzini considered the dogma of unique and immediate revelation a sacrilege. To him revelation was con-

stant and ceaseless. To him it was nothing more nor less than a continuous exposition of God's Law, and incessant communication of God's truth, unvailing itself to man in fragments, from period to period, from age to age. The ascertainment of every one of these fragments, alters human life by visible steps towards the goal of advancement and amelioration, and forms a belief, a faith.

To Mazzini, who considered current religion to consist mainly of symbols and rites, it seemed that the

existing creeds had little life. To him they seemed to belong absolutely to the past. "Perhaps in religion, as in politics," he says, "the age of the symbol is passing away, and a solemn manifestation may be approaching of the idea as yet hidden in that symbol. Perhaps the discovery of a new relation—that of the individual to humanity—may lay the foundation of a new religious bond, as the relation of the individual with nature was the soul of paganism, as the relation of the individual with

God has been the soul of Christianity."

Current Christianity, he thought, though "superior to paganism, or the religions of the East," had but dimly foreseen, not grasped or assimilated, the sacred idea contained in the word progress. "They understood the idea of the unity of the human race, and the unity of the law; they understood the idea of the perfectibility of man, but they did not comprehend that God has given man the power of realizing it by his own ef-

forts nor the mode by which it has to be achieved."

Mazzini's conception of religion, then—as you can readily infer from what is cited—was a religion that would tend to the immediate embetterment of man. Indeed, in his essay, entitled "Thoughts Upon Democracy in Europe," he expresses that view in plain language. "We wish him," he says in that essay, "to have more love, more feeling for the beautiful, the great and the true; that the ideal which he pursues shall be purer, more divine; that he shall feel

his own dignity, shall have more respect for his immortal soul. We wish him to have, in a faith freely adopted, a Pharos to guide him, and we would have his acts correspond to that faith." And this, he thought, we could only attain when we became more intimate with each other, when we will consider ourselves equal to each other. "When there shall be no more pariahs, nor brahmins, nor servants, nor masters, but only men—we shall adore the great name of God with much more love and faith than we do now." It is

then, he thought, our faith will not only be upon our "lips" but in "our hearts;" and Mazzini himself was the most ardent believer in this religion which he preached, and entertained the strongest hopes in its realization.

In his essay, "Faith and the Future," he says: "I have faith in God, the power of truth, and in the historic logic of things. I feel in my inmost heart that the delay is not for long. The principle which was the soul of the old world is exhausted. It is our part to clear the

way for the new principle, and should we perish in the undertaking, it shall yet be cleared." He continues in the same essay to argue and illustrate how humanity *does* progress and is destined to progress. After describing the tortures which Galileo suffered, he concludes:

"Three centuries have passed away. Inquisitors, inquisition, absurd theses imposed by force—all these have disappeared. Naught remains but the well-established movement of the earth, and the sublime cry of Galileo floating above the

ages. Child of Humanity, raise thy brow to the sun of God, and read upon the Heaven: 'It moves.' Faith and action; the future is ours!"

With such a strong belief in progress and in the religion of humanity, Mazzini preached this faith to his countrymen and to all the nations of Europe.

His strength was his earnestness, his power was his enthusiasm. He always responded to the throbbing of his soul.

II.

Victor Hugo, the French Shakespeare, has compared his countryman Voltaire to Jesus, as a reformer. Doubtless many of our Christian brothers will not agree with the details of Hugo's comparison; and yet I think there is much truth in the words of Hugo. "Jesus wept," says Hugo, and "Voltaire smiled." Now, on whatever points scholars may differ as to the significance and character of Jesus, it can

hardly be denied, that this sentence, "Jesus wept," characterizes the Nazarene. For me, I confess this sentence has a world of meaning, an ocean of thought. This sentence, the shortest sentence in the Bible, enables me to see what I think is the real power of Jesus. Again, the phrase, 'Voltaire smiled,' equally sums up the reformatory power of Voltaire. And now let me add: "Mazzini felt." This is Mazzini summed up. A tear is the monument of Jesus; a smile that of Voltaire; a pulsation of the heart that of Maz-

zini. Yes, a pulsation of the heart, this is Mazzini; for critically speaking, Mazzini was not a great writer, not a great philosopher, not a great economist, not even a great statesman. He did not always *see* clearly, but he always *felt* intensely. I repeat, Mazzini felt. He felt for the poor, he felt for the oppressed, he felt for the ignorant, for the superstitious, for the enslaved. He felt for those who build the palaces and live in huts; for those who print the books and have no occasion to read; for those who make the clothes and

go in rags; for those who create the useful and get the useless; for those who produce the most and own the least; and out of that feeling came a cry, a cry of the heart perhaps, more than of the head, but a thundering cry none the less. A cry which impelled Pius IX. to leave Rome in 1849 in the middle of the night; a cry which made the kings of Europe tremble on their thrones; a cry whose echo becomes louder with each vibration of the social wind-wave.)

As Mazzini would not have kings

own bodies, so he would not have priests own souls. As he opposed government by brute force, so he opposed government by superstition and fear. He was one of the most candid Republicans of our age; one of the most ardent lovers of freedom of the nineteenth century. He was not a single man, he was, he is an epoch, a chapter in history. He is the incarnation of the struggling genius of Italy. He is the prophet of the rising religion.

He said nothing original, using the term in its limited sense, but

what he did say was with such eloquence, with such earnestness, with such devotion, that it does not allow us to remain indifferent, still less to ignore his words.

Like most prophets, Mazzini was not practical, and like most prophets, he was somewhat obstinate. He believed *his* ideas were the most correct, and was ready to pay with his life for them. Like most prophets, he was very conscious of his mission, and like most prophets, he believed himself to stand at the head of his age. But again, like most prophets,

he does it in so innocent, earnest and sincere a manner, that we cannot charge him with ambition.

Yes, he, if any man of our age, was one of those chosen sons of God, who was impelled by an inner force to come forth and tell the people—the cynical and sceptical people of Europe, that while Papacy is extinct, religion endures forever; that while it is true that the old *forms* of religion are dying, Religion per se is eternal; that though injustice is prevalent, justice is after all destined to triumph; that there *is* a sacred law of right; that

there *is* a law which governs this universe; that there *is* a law of progress; that the "kingdom of heaven" is at hand, and that if we will work for it, we will reach it.

Mazzini's message to the world, perhaps, differs in many features from those given to us by former prophets. It does so, because the epoch in which Mazzini lived differs. Its value is practically the same.

The reason why Mazzini is so little read and so slightly understood is because we are yet living in a time of transition. The writings of our

Hartmanns are still the fascinations of our thinking public. Cynics and sceptics still fill our libraries with their demented books. But as soon as these books shall have become the appreciated works of the past, the world will learn the true estimation of Mazzini, and religion, religion in a higher form, will fill the vacuum which is now felt everywhere, and will again reanimate the now sceptical and cynical world.

When the mist of pessimism shall have been cleared away, when the clouds of ignorance shall have dissi-

pated, the new-born sun—the sun whose name is knowledge—shall kiss the brows of the slumbering millions and with its benign power awaken them to their sacred duties.

The folds of night have already fallen off. A day of broader thought and life is dawning. The most illustrious pages in the volume of human progress "are opening upon us with sublime rapidity of succession." Onward is our movement! Forward is the march of humanity! Upward is the path we are destined to travel! One by one we are recognizing our

noble martyrs, our honest advocates, our true statesmen, our pure patriots, our great reformers; and who knows, but that Mazzini—now little known — may soon become the prophet of a religious movement, the future religion, the Religion of Humanity.

TO THE YOUNG MEN
OF ITALY

TO THE YOUNG MEN OF ITALY

When I was commissioned by you, young men, to proffer in this temple a few words sacred to the memory of the brothers Bandiera and their fellow-martyrs at Cosenza, I thought that some of those who heard me might exclaim with noble indignation: "Wherefore lament over the dead? The martyrs of liberty are only worthily honored by winning the battle they have begun;

Cosenza, the land where they fell, is enslaved; Venice, the city of their birth, is begirt by foreign foes. Let us emancipate them, and until that moment let no words pass our lips save words of war."

But another thought arose: "Why have we not conquered? Why is it that, while we are fighting for independence in the north of Italy, liberty is perishing in the south? Why is it that a war which should have sprung to the Alps with the bound of a lion has dragged itself along for four months, with the slow uncer-

tain motion of the scorpion surrounded by a circle of fire? How has the rapid and powerful intuition of a people newly arisen to life been converted into the weary helpless effort of the sick man turning from side to side? Ah! had we all arisen in the sanctity of the idea for which our martyrs died; had the holy standard of their faith preceded our youth to battle; had we reached that unity of life which was in them so powerful, and made of our every action a thought, and of our every thought an action; had we devoutly

gathered up their last words in our hearts, and learned from them that Liberty and Independence are one, that God and the People, the Fatherland and Humanity, are the two inseparable terms of the device of every people striving to become a nation; that Italy can have no true life till she be One holy in the equality and love of all her children, great in the worship of eternal truth, and consecrated to a lofty mission, a moral priesthood among the peoples of Europe—we should now have had, not war, but victory; Cassuna

would not be compelled to venerate the memory of her martyrs in secret, nor Venice be restrained from honoring them with a monument; and we, gathered here together, might gladly invoke their sacred names, without uncertainty as to our future destiny or a cloud of sadness on our brows, and to say to those precursor souls: "Rejoice! for your spirit is incarnate in your brethren, and they are worthy of you."

The idea which they worshiped, young men, does not as yet shine forth in its full purity and integrity

upon your banner. The sublime programme which they, dying, bequeathed to the rising Italian generation, is yours; but mutilated, broken up into fragments by the false doctrines which, elsewhere overthrown, have taken refuge among us. I look around, and I see the struggles of desperate populations, an alternation of generous rage and of unworthy repose; of shouts for freedom and of formulæ of servitude, throughout all parts of our Peninsula; but the soul of the country, where is it? What unity is there

in this unequal and manifold movement—where is the Word that should dominate the hundred diverse and opposing counsels which mislead or seduce the multitude? I hear phrases usurping the national omnipotence—'The Italy of the North—the league of the States—Federative compact between Princes,' but Italy, where is it? Where is the common country, the country which the Bandiera hailed as thrice initiatrix of a new era of European civilization?

Intoxicated with our first victories, improvident for the future,

we forgot the idea revealed by God to those who suffered; and God has punished our forgetfulness by deferring our triumph. The Italian movement, my countrymen, is, by decree of Providence, that of Europe. We arise to give a pledge of moral progress to the European world. But neither political fictions nor dynastic aggrandizements, nor theories of expediency, can transform or renovate the life of the peoples. Humanity lives and moves through faith; great principles are the guiding stars that lead Europe toward the future.

MAZZINI

Let us turn to the graves of our martyrs, and ask inspiration of those who died for us all, and we shall find the secret of victory in the adoration of a faith. The angel of martyrdom and the angel of victory are brothers; but the one looks up to heaven, and the other looks down to earth; and it is when, from epoch to epoch, their glance meets between earth and heaven, that creation is embellished with a new life and a people arises from the cradle or the tomb, evangelist or prophet.

I will sum up for you in a few

words this faith of our martyrs; their external life is known to you all; it is now a matter of history, and I need not recall it to you.

The faith of the brothers Bandiera, which was and is our own, was based upon a few simple incontrovertible truths, which few, indeed, venture to declare false, but which are, nevertheless, forgotten or betrayed by most: *God and the People.*

God at the summit of the social edifice; the people, the universality of our brethren, at the base. God, the

Father and Educator; the people, the progressive interpreter of his law.

No true society can exist without a common belief and a common aim. Religion declares the belief and the aim. Politics regulate society in the practical realization of that belief, and prepare the means of attaining that aim. Religion represents the principle, politics the application. There is but one sun in heaven for all the earth. There is one law for all those who people the earth. It is alike the law of the human being and of collective humanity. We are

placed here below, not for the capricious exercise of our own individual faculties—our faculties and liberty are the means, not the end—not to work out our own happiness upon earth; happiness can only be reached elsewhere, and there God works for us; but to consecrate our existence to the discovery of a portion of the Divine law; to practice it as far as our individual circumstances and powers allow, and to diffuse the knowledge and love of it among our brethren.

We are here below to labor frater-

nally to build up the unity of the human family, so that the day may come when it shall represent a single sheepfold with a single shepherd —the spirit of God, the Law.

To aid our search after truth, God has given to us tradition and the voice of our own conscience. Wherever they are opposed, is error. To attain harmony and consistence between the conscience of the individual and the conscience of humanity, no sacrifice is too great. The family, the city, the fatherland and humanity are but different spheres in which

to exercise our activity and our power of sacrifice toward this great aim. God watches from above the inevitable progress of humanity, and from time to time he raises up the great in genius, in love, in thought, or in action, as priests of his truth, and guides to the multitude on their way.

These principles —indicated in their letters, in their proclamations, and in their conversation—with a profound sense of the mission entrusted by God to the individual and to humanity, were to Attilo and Emilio Bandiera, and their fellow-

martyrs, the guide and comfort of a weary life; and when men and circumstances had alike betrayed them, these principles sustained them in death, in religious serenity and calm certainty of the realization of their immortal hopes for the future of Italy. The immense energy of their souls arose from the intense love which informed their faith. And could they now arise from the grave and speak to you, they would (believe me) address you, though with a power very different from that

which is given to me, in counsel not unlike this which I now offer to you.

Love! love is the flight of the soul toward God; toward the great sublime, and the beautiful, which are the shadow of God upon earth. Love your family, the partner of your life, those around you ready to share your joys and sorrows; love the dead who were dear to you and to whom you were dear. But let your love be the love taught you by Dante and by us—the love of souls that aspire together; do not grovel on the earth in search of a felicity which is not

the destiny of the creature to reach here below; do not yield to a delusion which inevitably would degrade you into egotism. To love is to give and take a promise for the future. God has given us love, that the weary soul may give and receive support upon the way of life. It is a flower springing up on the path of duty; but it cannot change its course. Purify, strengthen, and improve yourselves by loving. Act always—even at the price of increasing her earthly trials—so that the sister soul united to your own may never need, here

or elsewhere, to blush through you or for you. The time will come when, from the height of a new life, embracing the whole past and comprehending its secret, you will smile together at the sorrows you have endured, the trials you have overcome.

Love your country. Your country is the land where your parents sleep, where is spoken that language in which the chosen of your heart, blushing, whispered the first word of love; it is the home that God has given you, that, by striving to perfect yourselves therein, you may pre-

pare to ascend to Him. It is your name, your glory, your sign among the people. Give to it your thoughts, your counsels, your blood. Raise it up, great and beautiful as it was foretold by our great men, and see that you leave it uncontaminated by any trace of falsehood or of servitude; unprofaned by dismemberment. Let it be one, as the thought of God. You are twenty-five millions of men, endowed with active, splendid faculties; possessing a tradition of glory the envy of the nations of Europe. An immense fu-

ture is before you; you lift your eyes to the loveliest heaven, and around you smiles the loveliest land in Europe; you are encircled by the Alps and the sea, boundaries traced out by the finger of God for a people of giants—you are bound to be such, or nothing. Let no man of the twenty-five millions remain excluded from the fraternal bond destined to join you together; let not a glance be raised to that heaven which is not the glance of a free man. Let Rome be the ark of your redemption, the temple of your nation. Has she not

twice been the temple of the destinies of Europe? In Rome two extinct worlds, the Pagan and the Papal, are superposed like the double jewels of a diadem; draw from these a third world greater than the two. From Rome, the holy city of love (Amor), the purest and wisest among you, elected by the vote and fortified by the inspiration of a whole people, shall dictate the Pact that shall make us one, and represent us in the future alliance of the peoples. Until then

you will either have no country, or have her contaminated and profaned.

Love humanity. You can only ascertain your own mission from the aim set by God before humanity at large. God has given you your country as cradle and humanity as mother; you cannot rightly love your brethren of the cradle if you love not the common mother. Beyond the Alps, beyond the sea, are other peoples now fighting or preparing to fight the holy fight of independence, of nationality, of liberty; other peoples striving by different routes to reach

the same goal—improvement association, and the foundation of an authority which shall put an end to moral anarchy and re-link earth to heaven; an authority which mankind may love and obey without remorse or shame. Unite with them; they will unite with you. Do not invoke their aid where your single arm will suffice to conquer; but say to them that the hour will shortly sound for a terrible struggle between right and blind force, and that in that hour you will ever be found with those

who have raised the same banner as yourselves.

And love, young men, love and venerate the ideal. The ideal is the word of God. High above every country, high above humanity, is the country of the spirit, the city of the soul, in which dwell all our brethren who believe in the inviolability of thought and in the dignity of our immortal soul; and the baptism of this fraternity is martyrdom. From that high sphere spring the principles which alone can redeem the peoples. Arise for the sake of these, and not

for the impatience of suffering or dread of evil. Anger, pride, ambition, and the desire of material prosperity, are arms common alike to the peoples and their oppressors, and even should you conquer with these to-day, you would fall again to-morrow; but principles belong to the peoples alone, and their oppressors can find no arms to oppose them. Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul and the visions of early youth, for they are a perfume of paradise which the soul retains in issuing from the hands of its Creator. Re-

spect above all things your conscience; have upon your lips the truth implanted by God in your hearts, and while laboring in harmony, even with those who differ from you, in all that tends to the emancipation of our soil, yet ever bear your own banner erect and boldly promulgate your own faith.

Such words, young men, would the martyrs of Cosenza have spoken, had they been living among you; and here where it may be that, invoked by your love, their holy spirits hover near us, I call upon you to gather

them up in your hearts and to make of them a treasure amid storms that yet threaten you; storms which, with the name of our martyrs on your lips and their faith in your hearts, you will overcome.

God be with you, and bless Italy!

The following are the chief writings of Mazzini:

1829. Of an European Literature.
1833. The Philosophy of Music.
1835. Faith and the Future.
1837. On Italian Literature Since 1830.
1838. On the Poems of Victor Hugo.
1839. Lamanais.
1839. George Sand.
1839. Byron and Goethe.
1839. The Poems of Lamartine.

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1843. On the Genius and Tendency of the Writings of Carlyle.

1843. On Carlyle's History of the French Revolution.

1844. On the Minor Works of Dante.

1844. Italy, Austria and the Pope.

1844. Duties of Man. (First Part.)

1847. Thoughts Upon Democracy in Europe.

1849. The Holy Alliance of the People.

1850. From the Pope to the Council.